

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES



BACHELOR THESIS

**The Czech integration system and the specific
needs of Muslims with subsidiary protection**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my independent work. It is written only by using the literature and resources which are duly cited, and it is not used in order to receive any other degree from another institution in the Czech Republic or abroad.

In Prague, May 8, 2019

signature: _____

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1.INTRODUCTION

My interest in people with subsidiary protection was caused by the lack of research about the target group, misunderstandings of the term ‘subsidiary protection’ and possible access to respondents. Subsidiary protection is a neglected topic due to an absence of general public awareness or even awareness of the professionals since the subsidiary protection is often mixed up with asylum.

The Czech Republic is well-known for its restrictive immigration policy concerning international protection. The Czech Republic did not accept many refugees because of widespread anti-immigration and anti-refugee policies. Statistic from the past years shows that in the years 2016-2018 only 224 asylums were granted, and 537 subsidiary protection permits (new applications) (Department of the Asylum and Migration Policy, n.d.). Nevertheless, previous years were not better in the number of either granted asylum or subsidiary protection. High pressure on authorities causes low numbers of granted international protection and especially asylum. Thus, a lot of people fleeing wars or discrimination are given subsidiary protection instead of asylum and are not considered as refugees by the law.

Subsidiary protection is the most used international protection in the Czech Republic. The number of granted subsidiary protections between years 2007-2017 reached 2238 (Department of the Asylum and Migration Policy, Ministry of the Interior, n.d.) which is almost double the number of granted asylums. People with subsidiary protection have the same rights and almost the same responsibilities as refugees, except one. They must prolong their status every year or two. Nevertheless, this group has access to the State Integration Programme, which gives them a great opportunity to integrate. On one hand, the state has a better control over those people who enjoy subsidiary protection, however, on the other hand it is questionable if they are well motivated to integrate and stay in the country.

In order to specify the target group, I focused on a minority religion- Islam. Muslims in the Czech Republic are a rather small community counting 22 500 people (Topinka, 2016). Even though the low number of Muslims in the Czech Republic, anti-Muslim atmosphere or even Islamophobia has been raising over the past years. Islam is perceived by the general public as threatening ideology which is incompatible with the Czech society (Topinka, 2016). Thus, Muslims with subsidiary protection may have more obstacles in integration than any other immigrant group due to their religion affiliation and their legal status.

The goal of the bachelor thesis is to find out how Muslims with subsidiary protection perceive their integration and what the specific needs of this group are. The semi-structured interviews were considered as the most appropriate methodological approach to the outlined goal since it allows me to have a framework which leads to similar topics of the conversations and simultaneously it leaves a space for the respondents to come up with their own topics.

A conceptual framework will be used in the theoretical part. The theoretical part is divided into three sections- People with subsidiary protection, Muslims in the Czech Republic and Integration of people with subsidiary protection.

2.THEORETICAL PART

2.1 People with subsidiary protection

This section discusses subsidiary protection and its difference to asylum; concept of an immigrant and alien and general public's approach to people with subsidiary protection.

2.1.1 The subsidiary protection in the Czech Republic: a short introduction

It should be mentioned there are differences between asylum and subsidiary protection. Both are considered a type of international protection. As written above, the biggest difference is the need for prolonging the status and that a person with subsidiary protection is not considered as a refugee. By the *Asylum Act, n. 325/1999 Coll.* a person with subsidiary protection is defined as: “ A person who enjoys subsidiary protection is a foreigner who does not fulfil conditions to achieve an asylum...., however, is eligible to gain subsidiary protection for the specified time (§ 2, p.7)“.

„Subsidiary protection is given to a foreigner who does not fulfil requirements for asylum however if in a process is discovered a justified possibility of serious harm after arrival back to the country of origin... and that person is not willing or cannot enjoy the security of country of origin...(§ 14a)“.

To simplify the difference between asylum and subsidiary protection, the difference between statuses is whether the harm in the country of origin had started before leaving the country or after leaving.

In some cases, they may be denied services solely meant for refugees. Nevertheless, the State integration system (SIP) accepts this group as well. They have a right to access this support which helps them integrate in areas such as: accommodation, work, social activities, orientation in the society, and assistance in different fields. They also have the right to access the health care system and social security system with the same conditions as Czech citizens (Department of the Asylum and Migration Policy, Ministry of the Interior, n.d.).

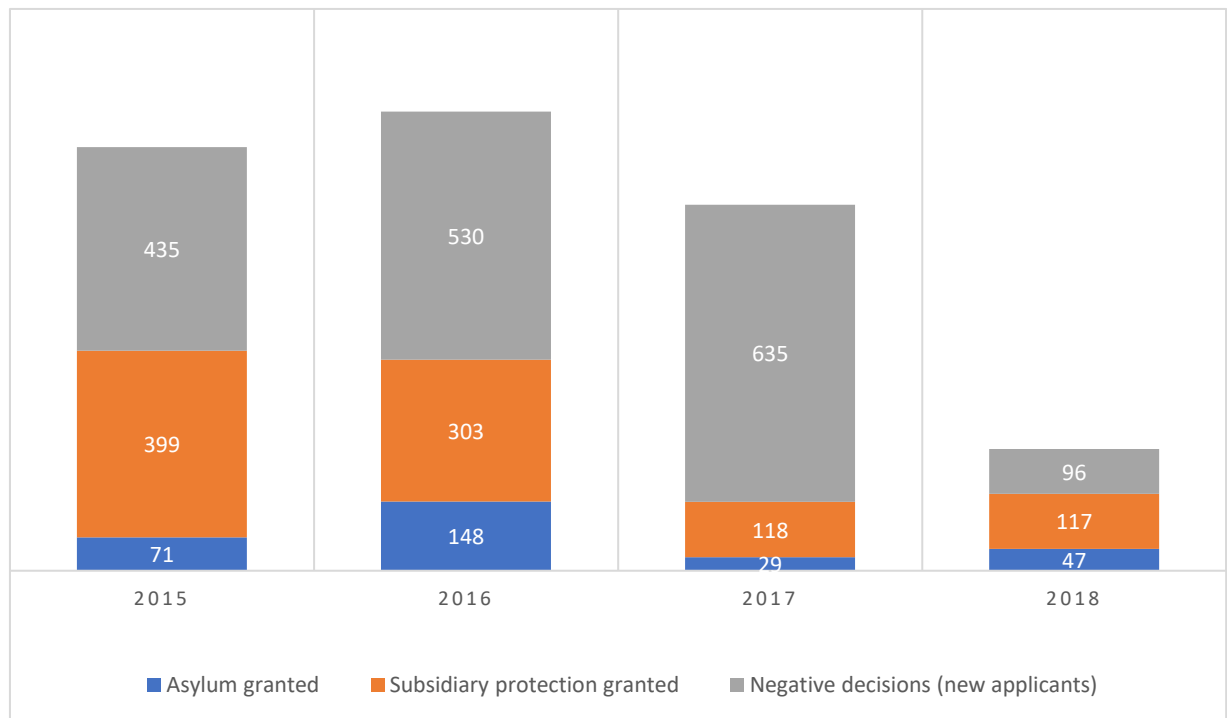


Table 1 : Granted and rejected applications of international protection between years 2015-2018

Source: Statistics of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, Department for Asylum and Migration Policy,

Table 1 illustrates how many people were granted subsidiary protection or asylum in the past 3 years in the Czech Republic as well as how many people were denied. In the graph, only new applicants were included. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the number of granted international protection is low even though the refugee crisis which reached its peak in 2015 by more than one million new applications for international protection in the European Union (Eurostat, 2019). For example, Sweden with almost the same number of inhabitants granted 32 631 asylums and denied 9 350 applications only in the year 2015 (Swedish Migration Board, 2016).

2.1.2 Immigrants

An immigrant could be defined as “a person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country (Bauböck, 1995, p. 7).” Bauböck suggest typology of immigrants according to membership in the society and voluntariness of the stay. The former shows whether is the membership in the society temporal (refugees, seasonal labor and other) or permanent. The latter implies whether the stay of the immigrant is voluntary (exchange students, immigrants) or involuntary (refugees), or something in between such as guest workers or a seasonal labor

(1995). Bauböck (1995) also notes that different typology of migration could be suggested, for example migration according to motives of immigrants (refugees, economic migrants...) or migration according to legal status. In addition, immigrants from the non-EU countries are called ‘aliens’ (European Commission, n.d.).

Kymlicka’s term ‘metics’ (2001) could be used to refer to “long-term residents who are nonetheless excluded from the polis (p. 39).” Metics include guest workers, illegal immigrants and people seeking international protection (Kymlicka, 2001), such as refugees and people with subsidiary protection. This group is allowed to stay in the country only for restricted time. However, the goal of metics is “to be able to follow the immigrant path to into the mainstream society, even though they were not initially admitted as immigrants (Kymlicka, 2001, p. 39-40)” which means that “the most basic claim of metics is to regularize their status as permanent residents, and to gain access to citizenship (Kymlicka, 2001, p. 39).” The topic of citizenship will be discussed below in separated section.

Kymlicka (2001) argues that the longer the metics stay, the lower desire they have to come back to the country of origin. Especially, those metics who have brought up their children in the accepting society or have been married are not motivated to move back (Kymlicka, 2001). The research confirms those theses.

2.1.3 General public opinion on the people with subsidiary protection

Not only is the state’s approach to the integration of people with subsidiary protection important. “It is also influenced by the attitudes and reactions of the general public (Kymlicka, 2001, p. 44).” Figures from The Public Opinion Research Centre shows that by April 2018:

- 58% of people were against accepting refugees¹,
 - 35% of people wanted to leave refugees in the Czech Republic only for a restricted time
 - 3% stated that they would leave refugees to settle down in the Czech Republic.
- (Postoje české veřejnosti k přijímání uprchlíků- duben 2018)

¹ The Czech general public and even media do not differ from refugees and people with subsidiary protection, thus I use figures for refugees since no research was done to ask general public about people with subsidiary protection. In addition, there may be parallel in general public approach and low number of granted international protections.

2.2 Muslims in the Czech Republic

This section describes Muslims in the Czech Republic, the general public's opinion on Muslims and Islamophobia in the Czech Republic.

2.2.1 Muslims in the Czech Republic

Muslims are rather a small community in the Czech Republic. The community counts approximately 22 500 members (Topinka, 2016). The Muslim community in the Czech Republic has been fragmented since its members come from different parts of the world. Muslims in the Czech Republic are a heterogenic group, which is segmented into smaller subgroups according their mother tongue, habits, beliefs, opinions and goals (Topinka, 2006/2007). Many of them come from countries of the former Soviet Union, Bosna and Hercegovina, Afghanistan (Topinka, 2006/2007) but also Middle-East countries (Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016). The expansion of the community is based solely on immigration since the nowadays estimation for people who convert to Islam is small (Topinka, 2006/2007; Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016).

2.2.2 General public opinion on Muslims and Islamophobia

As stated above, the integration depends not only on policies but also on general public opinion. Islam is perceived by the Czech society “not only as a dangerous religion but also as an economic rivalry. In the symbolic means, Muslims were considered as intruders of the order and the culture and their own culture was perceived as nonbeneficial. Islam was considered as a dangerous ideology which is impossible to split from violence (Topinka, 2016, p. 242).” The Islamophobic atmosphere in the Czech Republic leads the general public to prefer rather “a short-term residence of Muslims and stresses the restricted time of the stay. A foreigner (Muslim) should have such a status that it would not endanger solidarity of the accepting society (Topinka, 2016, p. 242).” This opinion reflects the widely used subsidiary protection.

Public opinion is driven by the raise of anti-migration and anti-Islamic political activities which were medialized by the Block against Islam and rhetoric of the Czech president Miloš Zeman in 2015 (Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016) and since then Islamophobia has widely spread. “Islamophobia operates by constructing a static ‘Muslim’ identity, which is attributed in negative terms and generalised for all Muslims (Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, 2016).” According to the European Islamophobia Report in 2015, the attacks against

Muslims were mainly conducted through the cyber space since the Muslim community is rather small and the general public is not in contact with them. Several websites show Islam and Muslims as a threat to democracy and to individual freedom (Topinka, 2006/2007). However, physical or verbal attacks are not unusual (Muhič Dizdarevič 2016). The verbal attacks towards Muslims with hijab were stated by every respondent in the research who is or was wearing a hijab. In conclusion, the low number of Muslims in the Czech Republic and widespread and continuous Islamophobic attacks could be described as “Islamophobia without Muslims (Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016).”

2.3 Integration of the people with subsidiary protection

This section discusses the concept of integration and its dimensions; it will describe the Czech Republic’s approach to integration of the foreigners coming from non-EU countries and it will explain attitudes towards immigrants.

2.2.1 Integration

Integration is a widely used term with slightly different meanings. Several authors have attempted to define integration, however no common definition was accepted. Bosswick, W., & Heckmann, F (2006) defined integration as “the stability of relations among parts within a system-like whole, the borders of which clearly separate it from its environment; in such a state, the system is said to be integrated (p. 2).” In addition, three more processes of integration should be specified in order to describe connection of the minority with the majority. Namely, the process of connection of two different elements which form a new structure; the process of forming an interconnected structure by new elements and improving the relations of the majority and minority (Bosswick, W., & Heckmann, F., 1997, p. 2).

The concept of integration will be understood by Berry’s definition of integration. Integration occurs when “some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network (Berry, 1997, p. 9). Integration is only one of the acculturation strategies used by minorities in order to adapt to the host society. Berry (1997) uses “the term acculturation to refer to the general processes and outcomes (both cultural and psychological) of intercultural contact (p. 8).” Thus, acculturation processes appear when two culturally different groups encounter.

The strategies of minorities and a receiving society are established according to their specific goals. Two aspects are taken in consideration- whether the minority group should remain its own cultural heritage or not, and whether the minority should maintain a relationship with the majority or not (Berry, 1997). According those two variables, four acculturation strategies from the minority point of view are established. *Assimilation* occurs when the minority decides to maintain a relationship with the majority and simultaneously abandon its own cultural identity. *Integration* occurs when the minority maintains a relationship with the majority and keeps its own cultural identity. *Separation* occurs when the minority want to avoid contact with the majority and at the same time keeps its own culture. The last possible acculturation strategy is *marginalisation* which is characteristic for avoiding the contact with the majority as well as abandoning its own cultural identity. This strategy is rare since assimilation and segregation should be forced at the same time (Berry, 1997, p. 9-10).

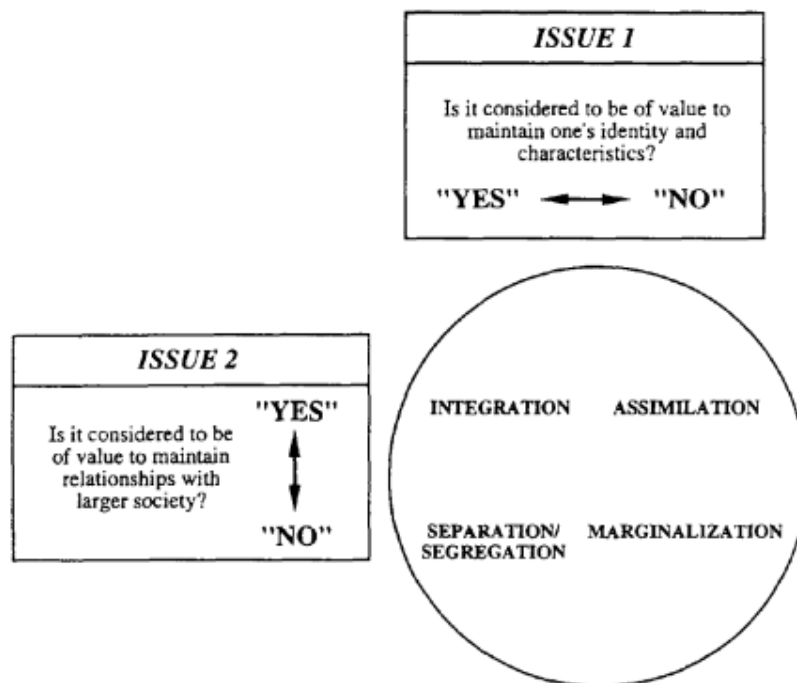


Figure 1: Acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997, p. 10)

The receiving society's approach to acculturation forms another four strategies. *Melting pot* occurs when the host society promotes assimilation, however if the assimilation strategy is forced by the host society, then we can refer to *pressure cooker*. When separation is demanded by the receiving society, we can refer to *segregation*. *Exclusion* arises when the host society promotes marginalisation. When the cultural heritage could be remained

alongside the contact between the minorities and the host society, *multiculturalism* is developed (Berry, 2001). The host society should maintain certain conditions in order to establish multiculturalism. Multiculturalism should be positively accepted by the vast majority of the society, low level of prejudice (discrimination, ethnocentrism) should be present in the society, positive attitudes to the minorities and to the majority should be mutual and every group should be attached to the larger society (Berry, 1997).

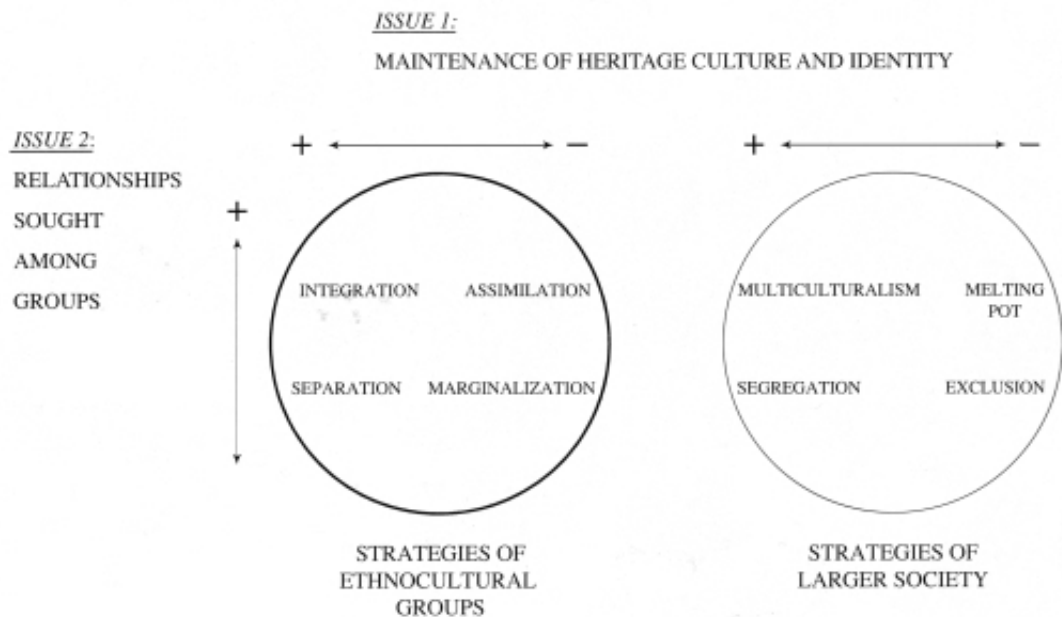


Figure 2: Acculturation strategies in the immigrant groups and the host society (Berry, 2001, p. 618)

2.2.2 Dimensions of integration

Many authors have attempted to promote certain types of dimension of integration, however there is no clear consensus how many dimensions should be identified. Penninx, Caponio, Garcés-Mascreñas, Schwarz & Protasiewicz (2014) state there are three main dimensions of integration, namely legal-political dimension, socio-economic dimension and cultural/religious dimension. Same as acculturation strategies, even dimensions of integration have two perspectives- the perspective of an individual immigrant and the perspective of the receiving society. *The legal-political* dimension includes political rights, residence permits and statuses. This dimension shows the degree of integration on the legal base. Penninx highlights that degree of legal-political integration establishes wide range of possible statuses, from a position of an illegal immigrant to an immigrant who has become a national citizen. From perspective of an individual immigrant, especially the ones with

unstable residence may feel uncertainty about future residence rights, lack of access to national political and decision-making processes. The perspective of receiving society on legal-political dimension of integration “exclusionary policies are an expression of basic perceptions that classify immigrants as outsider (Penninx, et al., 2014, p. 8).” *The social-economic* dimension involves the social and economic rights and whether the immigrants have access to them or not. This dimension investigates whether the immigrants have access to the welfare state, work benefits (unemployment benefit or insurance) and other rights. The last dimension – *the cultural/religious* one – examines “cultural/religious perceptions and practices of immigrants and the receiving society and their reciprocal reactions to such differences and diversity (Penninx, et al. 2014, p. 9).” The cultural/religious dimension depends on the receiving society and its acceptance of new culture or religion. Especially in mono-cultural/religious societies rejection of newcomers is possible and thus, the assimilationist strategies would be required from the immigrants (Penninx, et al. 2014).

For the purpose of this work Tollarová’s framework for dimensions of integration will be used. Tollarová (2006) established four dimensions of integration for the Czech Republic- structural dimension, social-economic dimension, social dimension and identificational dimension. *The structural dimension* includes the state’s approach to migration, the legal status of immigrants and their rights. In general, it analyses the legal status of the immigrant and his or her access to institutions. *The social-economic dimension* describes whether the immigrants have access to particular tools which would enable him or her to be independent. In the Czech space, the dimension specifies on the accommodation independence, self-sufficiency and being independent in access to information. The three aspects are closely interconnected with the language knowledge. *The social dimension* shows the approach of the general public and its acceptance of the diversity, a mutual relationship to immigrants and an attitude to integration of the general public. *The identificational dimension* analyses how the receiving society and the immigrants themselves perceive the integration. This dimension is often overlooked in the theories, however it plays significant role in the process of integration (Tollarová, 2006).

2.2.3 The Concept of the Integration of Foreigners

The Concept of the Integration of Foreigners (CIF) is a framework for immigration policies in the Czech Republic. The CIF is updated every year and validated by the government. The target group of the CIF are mainly newcomers from non-EU countries including people seeking international protection. The CIF is divided into five modules

according to the crucial spheres of integration. Following data are based on the validation of the CIF for the year 2019 (Ministry of the Interior, 2018):

1. *Knowledge of the Czech Language*- The further policies should work on providing Czech language courses in advanced levels ; facilitate the access to the courses, especially for parents; continue in providing help to children in school with language barrier; and higher the language requirement for acquiring the residence permit from nowadays A1 (Cvejnová, et al 2012) to A2.
2. *Economic self-sufficiency*- The further policies should aim to economically integrate the newcomers and should facilitate the access to the labour market. Importantly, the foreigners should be protected against discrimination when accessing the labour market.
3. *Orientation in the society*- The further policies should inform newcomers about accessible services and should also inform about their legal status (before reaching the Czech Republic and after departure by adaptation-integration courses). Courses and other activities on the local level should be introduced to facilitate contact with the general public.
4. *Developing a mutual relationship between communities*- The further policies should promote tolerance between communities by contact with the general public. Values of the both countries should be respected. The foreigners should be motivated to participate in the society and opportunities for taking part in the realization of the integration activities should be promoted.
5. *Gradual acquiring rights dependent on the time spent in the country*- The foreigners should be motivated to integrate by gradual enjoying more rights (access to health insurance, ...)

2.2.4 The State Integration Programme

The State Integration Programme (SIP) is based on CIF and it is a tool for integrating people who enjoy international protection. SIP focuses on crucial topics of integration such as: accommodation, language courses, job opportunities, assistance in education and communication with authorities. Access to SIP is restricted to maximum 12 months. After departure from the government accommodation, the services are conducted mainly by NGO's. The client has to sign a contract – The individual integration plan- in order to stress personal responsibility of the integration.

Services are mainly facilitating the process of communication with authorities, helping its clients with accommodation (paying the first rents, deposit and covering the cost if the client wants to move) and provides language course, assistance and support for children in schools (Státní integrační program, n.d.).

It is not obligatory to participate in the SIP. However, the State Integration Programme grants its participants a certain amount of money. Thus, it is likely that people will join the programme. Interestingly, the Czech immigration policy, on one hand the state enhances this target group to integrate and gives them a great opportunity to do so, on the other hand the state tries to prevent international protection seekers from staying in the country by giving them short-term residence permits, i.e. subsidiary protection. It seems that the steps made by the state are in contradiction.

2.2.5 Index of integration in the Czech Republic

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a tool for comparing integration policies and the indexes show to what degree are immigrants integrated and able to participate in different fields in the receiving society. The most recent published data are from the year 2014. The average score for the Czech Republic is 45 out of 100, according to the legend of MIPEX which could be described as ‘half-way favourable’. The Czech Republic scores highly ‘favourable’ (score 100) in some areas, such as: health coverage for asylum seekers, access to employment and social security and assistance, compulsory education as legal right. “Half-favourable” score comprises areas, such as: educational and vocational training, study grants and public employment services, recognition of professional qualifications, validation of skills and state facilitation of recognition of qualification, laws covering direct/indirect discrimination, harassment, instruction as well as laws covering discrimination by association and on the basis of assumed characteristics. ‘Critically unfavourable’ policies include areas of economic integration measures of youth and women and cost of application for citizenships. Requirements for citizenship scored very low (between 30 and 40) and could be described as ‘unfavourable’ - both in case of language requirement and integration requirement (Huddleston, Bilgili, Joki & Vankova, 2015).

2.2.6 Access to the residence permit and citizenship in the Czech Republic

If the people with subsidiary protection want to settle down in the Czech Republic, the residence permit is possible to gain after five years of continuous stay in the country. The change of the status leads to withdrawal of the subsidiary protection (Asylum Act, 325/1999,

Coll.) and thus they lose some of the privileges after achieving the residence permit (i.e. free health care). Nowadays, the requirement for Czech language is A1, however the in the annual actualisation of CIF for 2019 states that preparations to higher the requirement from A1 to A2 have been made (Ministry of the Interior, 2018).

Despite some of the negative outcomes after gaining the residence permit, the residence permit is desired since the deportation back to the country of origin is restricted.

According to Kymlicka's theory, citizenship is the key component in integration as well as language and accessing the institutions since the access to citizenship influences immigrants' contribution to the host society (2001).

People with subsidiary protection in the Czech Republic are theoretically eligible to access citizenship after 10 years of continuous stay. Nevertheless, the status of subsidiary protection is withdrawn after gaining a residence permit. It means that this group applies for citizenship as regular immigrants with residence permit, not as a person with subsidiary protection. Thus, people with subsidiary protection have not full access to citizenship.

There are two conditions for acquiring Czech citizenship, applicants have to pass language exam (B1) and a civics exam. Both exams are paid by the applicant, which may be another obstacle to overcome. The language exam costs 3 300 CZK (Informace o zkoušce z českého jazyka, n.d.)² and the civics exam costs 1 600 CZK per exam (Informace o zkoušce z českých reálií, n.d.).

2.2.7 Attitudes toward immigrants in the Czech Republic

Figures from The Public Opinion Research Centre from April 2019 shows 2019 (Hanzlová, 2019) a great assimilationist tendency of the general public. Majority of respondents (74%) stated that foreigners should be assimilated. Even the previous years indicated this tendency among the Czech general public. However, the highest figures come from the year 2015 when the refugee crisis started and Islamophobic movements were supported by president Miloš Zeman (Muhič, 2015) and the rate has settled on three quarters since then.

The history may also a play role in the approach to immigrants. The Czech Republic has accepted and implemented many laws, treaties, and other documents which should

² Average income before taxes from last quarter of the year 2018 in the Czech Republic was 33 840 CZK per month (retrieved from http://obcanstvi.cestina-pro-cizince.cz/index.php?p=informace-o-zkousce-2&hl=cs_CZ). Foreigners usually get lower salaries since they are not employed in their field of education and they often end up in low salaries positions.

provide security for minorities and strengthen their position in the society (for example Copenhagen criteria 1993, International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Charter of Fundamental Human Rights of the European Union). The Czech Republic is obliged to follow all documents above however it is questionable to which extent the country respects them. Why are not they respected? Barša&Baršová (2005) mentioned that immigration policies under the Soviet Union were neglected since the international immigration did not occur. Even after the fall of the communist party migration policies were omitted. Systematic changes have emerged with entering EU. Nevertheless, some of the treaties were pushed through in order to enter EU despite the disapproval of politicians and general public (Ram, 2003).

The identity of a receiving country plays role in attitudes towards immigrants. Four different types of national identity are established according to two characteristics of the state. Firstly, states may be differentiated by the origin of the state- whether it is a state which was formed by immigration or not. Secondly, the principle of the membership in the state divides states to two different types- an ethnic nation or a civil nation. According to their typology, four models of national identity are established- an immigrant civic nation, an endogenous civic nation, an immigrant ethnic nation and an endogenous ethnic nation. Especially, the endogenous ethnic nations have less experience with integration of foreigners (Barša&Baršová, 2005). It is in the line with Kymlicka (2001) who states “countries with no tradition of accepting newcomers are often more xenophobic, and prone to view all foreigners as potential security threats, or as potentially disloyal, or simply as unalterably ‘alien’³ (p. 40).”

2.2.8 Kymlicka’s concept of integration and the need for minority rights

The term ‘societal culture’ has been used by Kymlicka (2001) to refer to his definition of a culture and membership in it. It has been defined as:

“a territorially-concentrated culture, centred on a shared language which is used in a wide range of societal institutions, in both public and private life—schools, media, law, economy, government, etc.—covering the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life.”

Kymlicka stresses importance of language and access to common institutions. The definition of societal culture is broad in order to include people with different believes and

³ One of the respondents picked nickname “Alien”

habits. He also stressed the importance of integration newcomers into a common societal culture since it “has been seen as essential to social equality and political cohesion in modern states (Kymlicka, 2001, p. 21).”

Kymlicka promotes a ‘nation-building model’ which should replace ‘ethnoculturally neutral state’. Ethnoculturally neutral state was a concept which referred to a state which was neutral to any ethnical group and promoted equality for every citizen regardless of religion, ethnic background, gender or race. However, every state promotes some language or languages in public places such as schools or public institutions. The state cannot be considered as ethnoculturally neutral since culture is interconnected with certain language and this language is used in public places (Kymlicka, 2001, pp. 16-17). Thus, the ethnoculturally neutral state was replaced by the nation building model which is defined by Kymlicka as “a process of promoting a common language, and a sense of common membership in, and equal access to, the social institution operating in that language (2001, p. 19).” However,

“...it is clear that given the different historical background it is a tougher job to promote these policies in Europe than in the New World and, within Europe itself, tougher in the East than in the West. The implementation of these policies entails substantial changes in the identities of European nations (Barša, 2001, p. 249).”

Integration of minorities comes along with their protection since the “minority rights must be seen in the context of, and as a response to, state nation-building. While minorities do make claims against the state, these must be understood as a response to the claims that the state makes against minorities (Kymlicka, 2001, p. 50)”. However, minority rights, as a type of collective rights, is often criticised by many politicians since they are understood as something in opposition to individual rights. However, the minorities rights are especially needed now since higher mobility of EU citizens as well as non-EU citizens have been occurring. Possible cultural clashes and discrimination come alongside with higher number of moving people. Kymlicka (2001) does not consider all types of collective rights as harmful to individual rights. According to him there two types of possible ways how minorities may approach collective rights. Internal restriction “is intended to protect the group from the destabilizing impact of internal dissent (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 35)”, whereas external protection “is intended to protect the group from the impact of external decisions (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 35)”. Especially the former type of collective rights may imply possible suppression within certain group which would be in contradiction with individual rights (Kymlicka, 1995, p.35). However, the latter could be used for the security of minorities

which are more vulnerable in a society “since they protect particular ethnic or national group from the destabilizing impact of decisions of the larger society (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 37).”

External protection or internal restrictions are ways how to claim certain collective rights. The former is more likely the way Muslims with subsidiary protection should claim their rights. Kymlicka (2001) differs three forms of group differentiated rights which may be claimed by minorities.

Special representation rights secure a place for national or ethnic minorities on the political level. Those rights give minorities power to participate in political and economic decisions. Self-government rights give minorities power for self-determination. Those two do not apply for the research target group since the people with subsidiary protection has not the right to vote. The latter is usually used by minorities with a common territory or are claimed in multination states. The last type of right is called polyethnic rights which “protect specific religious and cultural practices which might not be adequately supported through the market..., or which are disadvantaged (often unintentionally) by existing legislation... (Kymlicka, , 1995, p. 38).”

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Aim of the study and research questions

The aim of the research is to find out what are the specific needs of Muslims with subsidiary protection. People with subsidiary protection are granted only short-term residence permits in comparison to asylum. Despite the short-term residence permit they have opportunity to integrate with no assurance that they will be able to reach residence permit. This may influence their integration. Their connection to Islam is another obstacle in integration since the general public has negative attitude to this religion.

The main research questions are:

- How do Muslims with subsidiary protection perceive their own integration?
- What are the specific needs of Muslims with subsidiary protection?

3.2 Research methods

Contacts were mediated by gatekeepers - social workers from a non-profit organization called The Counselling Centre for Integration⁴ (CCI) in Prague. Respondents were contacted by phone calls. Each contact was informed about where I received their personal phone number, who I am, and the research was briefly introduced. Then, the contacts were asked if they were interested in taking part in the research. Every suggested contact was contacted, however not every contact was fitting the research criteria and some of them refused to take part in the research. Semi-structured interviews were used in order to give respondents space to speak about their own experience and narrow enough to find their specific needs.

3 of the interviews took place at the office of CCI, 2 of them were taken at respondents' homes and 1 of them took place at a cafeteria chosen by the respondent since it was not possible to make the interview at CCI's office or the respondent's home. 4 of the interviews were individual and two were double interviews since they preferred to be interviewed together. Only two interviews were conducted in Czech. One of the double interviews was done in Czech, English and later with an Arabic gatekeeper/translator since few questions were unclear.

At beginning of every interview, all rights were explained (right to stop interview anytime, right to be withdrawn from research, right to not answer any question), the research was introduced, my connection to The Counselling Centre for Integration was explained in

⁴ Poradna pro integraci

order to not mislead respondents. Respondents were ensured that their names will be anonymised. Right before start of the interviews, respondents were asked to give me right to use their responds in this research and that I could use a voice recorder to for further work. Signed informed consent was not used because it could make respondent suspicious and uncomfortable to speak about their experiences since the relationship had not been established yet.

The Concept of the Integration of Foreigners was used as a base outline for interviews, however the research questions go beyond this.

3.3 Sample

9 interviews were conducted between 13rd of February 22nd of February 2019 in Prague. However only 8 interviews were fitting the criteria of this research. Respondents must enjoy the subsidiary protection and declare themselves as Muslims. One exception was made for respondent who just got residence permit and thus lost subsidiary protection. However, respondent's long experience of subsidiary protection was fitting to the research criteria.

Respondents were from different countries- 2 come from Yemen, 3 from Syria, 1 from Iraq and 2 from Kazakhstan. Age ranged from 23-47. All of them were offered to choose nicknames for this research, however only few of them took this opportunity and gave themselves nicknames Peace, Alien 1, Alien 2, Kausar⁵, the others were given names Mohammed, Amira, Rayana, Sandra. From 8 respondents only one consider himself as a man, the rest considered themselves as women.

I am aware that my target group is incoherent, however Muslims with subsidiary protection are a very specific group which is hard to contact. Any other criterion would make my final number of respondents even lower. I will take in consideration this incoherence in the analysis. Despite the fact, this research may be used more as a base for further research about people with subsidiary protection because several interesting topics have appeared.

The respondents connections to The Counselling for Integration and their participation in the SIP demonstrate their motivation to integrate and thus, it influences their responses and the whole research.

⁵ A Muslim name meaning abundance or river in a paradise

3.4 Research and ethics

My research is based on semi-structured interviews therefor it will cause specific issues. First, respondents should sign informed consent or verbal agreement with informed consent captured on a voice recorder. This process makes respondents research participants, not an object of the research (Guillemin & Gillam 2004).

The space where the research takes place raises few problems. It is important to choose right place for the interviewing since the respondents will speak about personal experiences. The place should be calm and preferably known before to make a respondent relaxed. I have been offered one room at CCI's office. 4 interviews took place there. As a researcher, I am aware of possible misunderstanding from respondents' side and their possibly biased answers therefore I explained my connection to CCI before every interview.

I expected rather minor ethical issues. Guillemin & Gillam (2004) call it "ethically important moments". Ethically important moments are not negligible. My interviews may recall unpleasant memories from the Czech Republic or country of origin. I suppose that it is impossible to predict all issues, however I have to be aware of such moments and as a researcher I should "be both mindful and active in protecting our research participants (and ourselves) from harm and undue risks (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 277)."

3.5 Research process and data analysis

The research part started with the first interview since I was carefully listening to each of the respondent. Notes were taken just occasionally when interesting details have appeared. Every interview was recorded and transcribed in the language of the conversation, precisely how the respondents answered, thus verbatim transcription was used. Notes were taken while transcribing. The thematic analysis was chosen in order to find out particular themes which are important for the Muslims with subsidiary protection. Same answers and topics were highlighted and then used in the data analysis. The citations from the Czech based interviews were translated in English. The analysis uses strategy of induction which is characteristic for processing data from the particular to the general. The semi-structured interviews have high reliability and low validity (Jantulová, 2009/2010).

4. DATA ANALYSIS

As stated above, CIF was used as a base for the interviews. Nevertheless, other topics have emerged which, I believe, were important for the respondents. They are presented in the analysis although they are not included in The Concept of Integration of the Foreigners.

4.1 Knowledge of the Czech Language

According to the Kymlicka's theory, a membership in societal culture is dependent on knowledge of the language. The research shows that the Czech language is a huge obstacle in integrating into the society. Nevertheless, the Czech language courses were offered to all participants but only some of them continue attending them. Some of the respondents did not have enough time to attend the courses because of taking care of children or losing motivation since the courses were ineffective. The research found that the system does not offer intensive courses. Lessons take place only 2 times per week which is not enough for people who would like to study in more effective way and integrate faster. The language barrier influences further integration and especially meeting Czechs which is discussed in another section.

"I think it was better because you are studying every day. You have information you should study every day. It's like not once or twice a week you will not be.... like... you will forget what have you learnt taken the previous week. That's why." Peace

"When we compare ourselves with those who are in Germany. They are speaking already. German is also not so easy. But they are speaking. In the same period we were like... we asked them why? They have it for the last 6 months daily so intense so they started to speak. We feel like we are stuck at the same level we cannot get progress. Not because the teachers are bad. They are so good really." Alien 1

However, the critique was pointed towards the ineffectiveness, not the quality of the courses. The respondents just pointed out the systematic gaps which prevent them to improve their language level faster. Respondents with kids were usually satisfied with the lectures:

"It helps so much." Sandra

“I have got the lectures. I am learning. It is good, I have 2 lectures per week. It is enough because I have two daughters, everything a work... lot of work.” Amira

Kausar and Rayana have been in the Czech Republic for more than 10 years and it may influence their experiences since the laws have been changing, for example the people enjoying the international protection entered CIF in 2016. Both have four children, the majority of them were born in the Czech Republic. Thus, they did not have much time for learning Czech language at the beginning of their stay. Kausar and Rayana were offered courses however they did not attend them since they had to take care of their children. However, they were the only ones who managed to be interviewed in Czech. They managed to learn Czech on their own:

“I went in Prague for that course. I was attending it there, it was free but then I was pregnant. [...] I knew all because I think I learnt Czech with my children... when the oldest boy went to school and I had to explain him something, read the syllabary. I always read with him...” Kausar

“I was home so I couldn’t attend the course. I could not do it any other way. My kids are hyperactive so I couldn’t and then I started. My Czech improved. I was speaking only with my friends in Russian or Kazakhstani. I didn’t have contact. I didn’t have contact with Czechs, only every day word like thank you, excuse me. [...] Why my Czech got better... in year. I don’t know. I was in a hospital for long time and there was another Czech lady. We were two or three months in one room. [...] I started to speak with her, she was bit reserved from the beginning but every day she was... closer to me. Every day I was speaking about my life and her life. We become as mother and daughter. We call sometimes and then I started to open” Rayana

4.2 Employment and job opportunities

All respondents answered that they want to work and are prepared to work. Almost all of them are having higher education in various fields. However, none of them is working in that field because of the language barrier or hijab prejudices.

The biggest obstacle in finding job is a hijab. Respondents who were or are wearing it have similar experiences with finding job or trying to work with it. It is not possible to find

any job when sending a CV with a photo with hijab. Alien 1 decided to take it off and after that she got a job:

“The funny thing is that I applied to the same job without helping from anyone and I was wearing a scarf and I was putting my scarf on the CV and they didn’t even give me the chance to go for the interview...I took it off and I applied again with the same cv, with everything, I just took of the scarf and they said come for interview.” Alien 1

“I would like to work. I made a CV, sent it all...when I do CV without a photo, they always call me, can you come, we can organise it, we will speak to you. Then I go to the meeting and they see I have a scarf, they don’t want me. They do not say we will not take you. They say we will speak, think about it and then they don’t call. Now I make a CV with a photo with the scarf. [...] Then I send emails, but nobody replies me.” Kausar

Rayana and Kausar also state how hard was just having a field placement when she was studying for a course as an education assistant:

“I did 40 hours of field placement in a school. I had a problem because some of the parents were watching me and asking if this woman will work here? ‘Ok, she just has a field placement there but in future she wants to work with our children... I understand that I cannot work if they do not agree, and I will not work then.’” Rayana

“The third day in the field placement in the kindergarten, the parents told them, they do not like that in the kindergarten is some woman wearing a scarf, a Muslim. Parents were talking to the teacher and the teacher told them she is just doing here field placement here and she won’t be here for long. I told them... do you think.. in the Czechia... I don’t see you.. you can’t work in here.” Kausar

It is important to ensure that belief would not be part of any job interview and that women would not take off hijab if they do not want to. Discussion about hijab in working place should be opened in order to make those women possible to work in places they are educated in. Any kind of religion discrimination should be prevented.

I would like to mention the specific role of man as the breadwinner. Only one respondent was man. One contact promised to meet me but then he stopped responding back. Husbands of two of respondents refused to meet me. All the contacts were highly educated

people and all of them are not able to work in the fields they are trained to. Men's role in the family is often the breadwinner and since they are not able to ensure money, it may have bigger influence on their psychical health and self-confidence or even motivation to integrate. I believe that research on transformation of roles between man and woman in Muslims families should be done as well as impact of immigration on men and their self-confidence and motivation to integrate. Muhammed already accepted his future job:

“My wife yes but not me. because it is difficult as a lawyer. We stay here and this work for my wife is really good in here but I want to work in some kebab or restaurant.”

Kausar spoke about her husband's employment situation:

“You asked me if you could talk to my husband and he doesn't want to because he... how... he lost his job and he doesn't want to talk.”

4.3 Accommodation

Respondent faced lot of difficulties in finding accommodation. It should be mentioned that it is difficult even for Czech people since Prague does not have enough apartments. Nevertheless, there are more obstacles for my target group. Often the rented place was owned by another foreigner. Difficulties in finding apartments in the Czech Republic may show hostility towards immigrants in general. The State Integration System is well built for its user for helping with paying a rent and helping with moving if needed.

Peace was commenting on her experience in finding apartment in Prague:

“I came many time from Usti and Labem⁶ to see flats but I was with hijab so it's not... it is not... good for the people to rent for me. They didn't like it. But then I took out my hijab and I found one and they give it to me and it's nice.”

“When you search about house when they know you are Arab, a foreigner then they say no ...” Sandra

⁶ A city in the Czech Republic

“Actually, we had difficulties to find the accommodation because I think they... generally they don’t prefer foreigners and when we said we are Arab... they are getting bit afraid... maybe she will come with her scarf...” Alien 2

“Yeah when I come here I already removed my scarf... the guy was really nice. But you know if I have a scarf I know I will have a problem to get...it.” Alien 1

“It is really hard, the building is Vietnamese.” Amira

“But the apartments are expensive in Prague, approximately 20 000 for our family of 6 people.” Rayana

“Very hard... [...] First thing they wanted to see was if my husband is working so they gave me that fast... but they did not want us to have 3 kids with us. They told us it is too many kids. [...] There was one apartment which was 116 quadrant meters. We could play football there but he told us it is only for two people (laugh) and he didn’t give it to us.” Kausar

4.4 Children with subsidiary protection

Only four respondents continue to wear a hijab in some way. Only Sandra was explaining the situation with her daughters and their approach to hijab. However, this topic is crucial for future discussion and the state should target this topic in order to make girls comfortable within the schooling system. In the transition school and teachers as well should be involved. A hijab itself cluster several problems in the Czech society and children are more vulnerable to defend themselves.

“She was wearing hijab but after she didn’t to wear now....they would not have any friends if they put hijab. After they hear about some problems with teachers I am also afraid if they go alone with hijab. something happens.” Sandra

In general, topic of kids from Muslim families which have subsidiary protection is neglected. Further research is needed for better understanding of those kids with subsidiary protection or young adults who have grown up in the Czech Republic. In my opinion,

identities of those children as well as motivation to stay in the Czech Republic should be examined. Especially, what impact does the subsidiary protection have on children?

4.5 Children and schools

Some of the respondents came with children or gave birth to children after the arrival to the Czech Republic. This raised questions about the education system and school services.

In general, the services provided from schools were helpful, well-functioning, easy to access and able to provide extra services if needed.

“Really, they helped them.” Sandra

“2 months, after 2 months we found a school for our kid. Kids are the same in here, kids of a foreigner are the same here, no problem. The teacher is also very good.” Amira

“Okay she is struggling with language but even that she takes to... like she is okay. Because at the school they help her to have assistance to have extra lessons of Czech language. We try to.” Peace

“In the Czech Republic, by the law every kid must go to a school or kindergarten.”
Kausar

However, children as newcomers are facing mocking or exclusion from the classroom, especially at the beginning.

“I was sad because sometime they had problems like some children other children have bad information from parents so they... say you are a foreigner, you are not good.” Sandra

“Other children were mocking him. Honza⁷, do you have a bomb in your backpack? Honza, are you a terrorist? Boys do so. And the teacher wanted to calm them down so she asked me to translate this to Czech and then she explained it to them. I think it was better then.” Rayana

⁷ The name was changed

Schooling for young children is guaranteed by law, however college education is not granted. Alien 1 and Alien 2 wanted to continue with their university studies. They found scholarships but they were meant only for refugees:

“Also at the beginning we were trying to find a scholarship because we were planning to finish out studies here and they were also provide us lot of ignore regarding this.. but then we said no more. [...] And the scholarship was for the asylum seekers.” Alien 2

“No because the first time we applied we get answer which shocked us. You are not refugees [...] But then I told them.. we have the same and then told me you are not refugees you need to... because like.. come on.” Alien 1

This shows that the institutions are either not aware of different types of international protection or neglect this group since universities do not consider them as future possible citizens/ people with long term residence permits and thus it is not desirable to put any resources into them.

Second generation of those newcomers may feel more like Czechs than the country of origin or country of parent's origin:

“They say we are Czechs. They do not imagine themselves in Kazakhstan. They say the people in there are strange.” Rayana

4.6 Orientation in the society

Every respondent was informed about his or her status of subsidiary protection. Respondent stated that they understand their rights and responsibilities. A translator was present when signing the contract for international protection.

“Yeah, everything because we read it with my husband several times. All Kazakhstani got the subsidiary protection. We were the last who signed that.” Rayana

Sandra confirmed that she understood: *“All the rules.”*

“Yes, they explained us everything and told us why we got it.” Rayana.

“Yeah, we got the translator.” Muhammed

Alien 1 also confirmed that she understood everything: *“Because during the process they need you to provide translator. it was our first...”* and Alien 2 added: *“When we also... we took our decision there was a translator when will happen next, what we have to do and what is our right.”*

“We accept you here and we gave you the subsidiary protection and you can stay here and you can have all the rights as CZ people but nothing else. [...] Yes, of course, there was some man he was translating for us.” Peace

Understanding the institutions is another topic which appeared. In some cases, it was interconnected with word ‘discipline’ or ‘rules’:

“In the Czech Republic there is different culture. I like the order, order in law. Everything has its rules.” Kausar

Rayana summarized her experience by explaining how the rules are followed in the Czech Republic and her country of origin on an example of the traffic lights: *“...things like a traffic light. [...] We have traffic lights but when are people rushing to work, they don’t look at it. [...] At the beginning I was like that as well. [...] I was not maintaining the discipline, but it is a rule and I teach my children to wait until the traffic light shows.”*

4.7 Meeting Czech people

The research found that respondents have just few or none Czech friends. All of them would like to have Czech friends, however it is hard to find any, especially because of language barrier and Czech closeness. Kymlicka (2001) states that the integration is dependent on general public. Respondents’ answers show how this part of integration fails. There is no system which would help them to get in touch with Czechs. The language barrier for sure plays role in this however how could be interpreted those respondents who lives in the Czech Republic for more than 10 years and who can speak Czech do not have any Czech closer friend?

"I wish but when I speak Czech, I think." Sandra

"So I have one friend from Serbia. She is best friend and I have a one lady. She is Czech. She is very good. She is helping and actually today she is inviting us for dinner. Only these two ladies which are close me." Peace

"... it is right she was teaching me Czech language... I was learning with her and then I started to open. I saw that every Czech person was accepting me. I am afraid, they are afraid. And then I was open, then every Czech person understood me." Rayana

"Only the language if the can improve this... It would be so easy for the like... Refugees or international protection appliers to really get in contact with people." Alien 1

Feeling accepted in the society was another important topic for integration. The feeling of acceptance is higher with more time spent in the Czech Republic.

Rayana speaks about her thoughts when she came to the Czech Republic:

"At that time I was thinking why they do so and why they cannot accept me like a normal person?" Rayana

"I don't know who...like half somebody, somebody." Sandra

Muhammed still struggles with feeling accepted among Czech people. One of the reasons may be that he has no Czech friend,

"..I want friend. I want to speak Czech with Czech people. only this. But what I want is to feel normal.. same like the Czech people, I do not want to be different, a foreigner."

There was open question at the end if there is any topic which the interview did not cover, and Muhammed started to speak about acceptance in the Czech Republic and he made good point about acceptance. When I asked what should be done to make him feel accepted, he answered:

"I understand but they... you want to ask for them, not for me...ok?." It shows how unaccepted he feels in the society, more likely because lack of the contact.

Peace spoke about her acceptance as something she had to fight for:

“Do you mean me as a Muslim and Iraqi accepted here in the Czech Republic? I think so far yes because I worked for this.”

“We know about them more they know about us so it’s not difficult for us to be accepted.” Alien 2

4.8 Professing Islam in the Czech Republic

External protections should be used in order to secure cultural heritage of Muslims with subsidiary protection. Previous articles showed discrimination of women wearing hijab in finding accommodation or job. Some of the respondents had to give up certain cultural habits in order to integrate into the society or to just avoid any problems. None of the respondents go regularly to a mosque. This may be influence by the gender- seven out of eight were women. Women are not required to go to the mosque. Respondents stated some reasons why they do not go to a mosque which are acceptable:

“I don’t go [...] I don’t have time and it is to far.” Muhammed and he stated that he prays at home instead.

“I don’t go here to pray in mosque. I only went one time and I said this is the last time...” Alien 1

Peace had another reason why she doesn’t want to attend any mosque:

“I don’t like to have any black point here in CZ. I know people going to mosque or they have some community to meet. There are some point on them so I don’t like to attend this. As I women and as I am Muslim. It’s not like I should go to the mosque I can pray at my home, I can pray Koran at my home and it’s inside me so I don’t need to show people what I am. What I am believing. If they ask me I say yes I am Muslim. But I act as I am Muslims and what I am believing in and I show people what is Islam. [...] This is what is different really because I am alone without family. This is we don’t have it. Because my daughter is in school on Friday so no.”

Peace states that she doesn't want to have connection to the mosque since she thinks it may discredit her in the society. She described it as 'a black point'. Even though she would like to attend a mosque on Fridays: *"Not every day but we like it on Fridays to go to the mosques."* This cannot be considered as discrimination in professing Islam however it shows certain fear of being connected to Islam. She was also one of the women who was forced to take off her hijab. Peace takes Islam and its profession to her private space.

Rayana has similar experience with celebration Islamic holidays:

"Czechs don't want to accept us because they are afraid of us. They are afraid of one person wearing a scarf, they are little bit afraid, but I don't know of what. But when it is lot of us, so you ask if I have any problem so this is a problem. The problem is that they don't say anything, but they are afraid of us when there is lot of us. We just want to make a little celebration, to pay it and we just want to sit down. But we don't want people to look at us.. it is for us... we cannot do it. We cannot sit with enjoyment. [...] Holidays are problematic for us without a house. Because we don't want to bother the neighbours because everyone wants to keep their apartments. Nobody wants to search for new on. With four kids... The neighbours can sign this and tell it... [...] We can follow the rules to not bother anyone because it is hard to find any apartment since we are foreigners, they don't like to give it to us. It's hard."

It does not show any oppression of Muslims since nobody tells them that they cannot celebrate their holidays. Nevertheless, she feels uncomfortable to celebrate with her friends since they would be so many and it could be suspicious in neighbours' point of view.

In summary, Muslims with subsidiary protection are afraid of being publicly connected to Islam. They feel they could have some problems. Thus, another way of professing Islam is developed. They rather pray at home, celebrate in quiet and even take off the hijab in some cases in order to have more opportunities.

4.9 Hijab in everyday life

The research found out that hijab was the most problematic part of being Muslim since it carries symbolic means for Czechs. I decided to make one whole section only for this topic since respondents focused on it a lot.

There were 3 different approaches to wearing hijab. Several variables play roles in finding strategy for wearing a hijab. Some of them would not take it off despite putting

themselves in inconvenient situations. This group have husbands who would support them. Also it may be a husbands' (unconscious) pressure to not take it off. Two respondents were forced to take the hijab off since they would not get a job or accommodation. They were independent and could not rely on anybody else. Interestingly, one of the respondents tries to find a way between wearing hijab and not look like person wearing hijab (by wearing hat, cap or other). This shows how hijab is perceived in the Czech Republic and how women wearing hijab are easy targets. The attacks or discrimination appear often enough to force women to take off the hijab or wear a hijab without showing it is a hijab.

Usually, women wearing hijab do not feel comfortable wearing hijab in public spaces since the verbal attacks may occur. Attacks are usually done by unknown person in a public space.

"... they look like we are dangerous. not all people. some people smile. [...] I feel normally better than the full hijab, because like this. when you go to any place you feel like you are strange or... you not feel good. [...] No, with hijab not safe. [...] From 2 year I wear hijab with my daughter, and we are in metro, and one man, big man he speak with my daughter but I cannot understand them and after my daughter be angry and was... and the man also high voice. I asked what's happening and she said he told her...you know about women ...they kill woman who wear hijab ... so she told his to stuff... so they argued..."

Sandra

"It is not fear but it was uncomfortable to be different. In the small town it was even more obvious. It wasn't comfortable." Amira

„The old people when they do not like... they may say something. Somebody says 'yuk, gets up and go away... it is not comfortable...[...] We were four, we were four wearing the scarf but for the people it is horrible. It is lot for them, but we just sit there.'" Rayana

Alien 1 spoke about her experience before and after wearing hijab. It is obvious that she could be accepted in the society only after taking off her hijab.

"Me and Alien 2 go and they would speak with her... like I am not here.. like I have something then when I removed, they accept me. They have wrong conception of our scarf..."

Alien 1

Rayana has a similar experience of unacceptance, however she did not take off the hijab and this happened:

“When I was in hospital, the nurses when they meet me for 3 months... they get to use to me and they did not see the scarf, they saw me...they saw person in me.” Rayana

This is only one example; we cannot generalize that. However, it shows that knowing the language and having those people close to her, made her accepted within this group. It shows how important language is to be accepted which is in the line with the theory.

“And the Czechs teachers told me ‘they are afraid because in the tv they always tell about you bad things.. I think... when I speak with you, we are not afraid anymore’, the teachers in the kindergarten told me.” Kausar

4.10 Own community

Contacting their own family was highly important for all of the respondents, except one who have lived in the Czech Republic the longest time. The rest needs to be in contact every week or daily. Especially the period at the beginning is the most important. Alien 1 was complaining about the lack of internet in some of the building for people who are settling down in the Czech Republic:

“You could make me live in...even... don’t give me anything... but the internet because that the only way we can contact our families. For us it was really important and every day I was complaining...”

“Every week, twice per week.” Amira

“Yes, the same for me.” Muhammed

“We call each other like every day.” Sandra

“My father when I don’t call him one day, he become crazy. ‘Oh, Peace, you need to call me.’ So every day I call him, I make my sign and I call him. He loves that.” Peace

“I call my family several times per week. Because kids like the grandma and grandpa. [...] My mum says if I don’t call, she something...afraid that something happened.” Kausar

4.11 Feeling safe

Muslims with subsidiary protection were feeling safe in the Czech Republic. However, for some of them was the subsidiary protection disturbing since they do not know what will happen in future. They cannot plan anything since is possible that the deportation will occur.

Rayana lives here for more than 10 years and she is still enjoying subsidiary protection.

“We feel safe in the subsidiary protection but we don’t know sometimes what will happen. When is the time of prolonging the papers we are scared, maybe they will not prolong it and what we would do then? Move to another country? And what about children? They go to school and they know Czech. They are use to it. They do not imagine they would go anywhere else.”

Peace similarly feels safe in the Czech Republic: *“I am safe. I can say I am safe, yes, but.... More safe than my country.”* However, she does not feel safe within the subsidiary protection *“No, because it might be one day, they say I have to go back to home. So I am not that’s why I need to apply the residence permit to be sure I am here and I am continuing here”*

“I don’t feel safe in the subsidiary protection. It’s some... You get it only for year or two, it is limited period. [...] It is four to five months and I am waiting. It is really nervous and I am thinking what will be there. It is bad. The subsidiary protection is really bad thing for foreigners.[...] I think it is good for the Czech Republic (laugh). It is Czechia, my husband says ‘Czechs did the law for themselves.’ I understand the people who wrote it. The law is really...smart people. They did it well for the Czech Republic but bad for us.” Kausar

However, the rest of the respondents expressed that they do feel safe in the Czech Republic and within the subsidiary protection since they believe that their status will be prolonged:

“I consider the subsidiary protection as the way how to get to the residence permit. You cannot do it without it... But I feel safe in the Czech Republic.” Amira

Alien 1 answered to a question about feeling safe as:

“So much” and Alien 2 added:

“This is the best thing in this country, comparing what we saw [...] no we don’t have any problem because in 2 years they will do the same...and we believe they will not kick us out.”

Sandra feels the same: *“I feel. If I think about my country yes I feel safe [...]. I don’t know, I am not afraid. because it is normal to take it, but I have after 5 years I have the same what have my husband and daughter.”*

4.12 Residence permit

Widely used subsidiary protection instead of asylum arises some problems. Rayana was describing her experience of getting the residence permit after more than 12 year of continuous stay in the Czech Republic:

„Some requirements for showing that my husband can be self-sufficient and that he can pay rent. And at that time we were having the maternity leave because I have children and I was home. We were getting money for your disabled son and the residence permit you can get if my husband could support our family... he should get at least 35 000czk and at that time he was getting less so we drop the application. And now he has his own trade certificate so he gets more [money]. They don’t pay us anything right now so we want to apply [for residence permit] because he can support us and I think we can finally get the residence permit.”

The other respondents were planning to apply for the residence permit as fast as possible.

“I am planning to have my A2 test for the... residence permit.” Peace

“When we figured out that we need to wait 5 years we were shocked we were relying on this from the beginning. That we will get permanent residence and it would be easier for us. [...] We just want now the... permanent residence to manage our life and go out of the

country. Without this harassment in the airport, because they don't recognise these passports." Alien 1

"In two years we have to change residence permit." Muhammed

"Because my husband has residence permit and we come to here to just be like him, to have residence permit when the was start. I didn't know if we could stay. When we come to here the situation was bad, so we stayed here and we want... my husband has residence permit but I don't know the rules." Sandra also shows her desire to apply for residence permit and she pointed out her experience with her legal status which did not allow her to access the health care system since the doctor refused to provide her the care: *"And my doctor he sent me to the hospital to Motol and in motel when they see I am subsidiary protection, they didn't accept to take me."* Sandra

As stated above, Kausar was given exception to participate in the research even though she has already a residence permit. She describes her experience:

"My family got the residence permit. We are so happy. [...] Everything we succeeded. We had to show some document about work, they counted the money for whole family. And my husband was getting really good money."

4.13 Citizenship

All of the respondents answered that they want to get Czech citizenship and stay in the Czech Republic which is in line with the theory which says that the longer they stay the more they want to settle down and become citizens. According to the research people who were living in here for more than 2 years showed their motivation to stay in the Czech Republic. Children play essential role for parent's decision to stay. Especially if the children are in school, have friends and know the language. Previous articles showed that some of them felt themselves more Czech than the country of origin of their parents.

"I think yes, so much because my daughters....I think about my children....I start to feel here like it is my country. I feel comfortable." Sandra

“Because of children, the citizenship would help me for happiness because I am afraid. I do not have motivation to buy apartment. But we plan to apply for it.... But it keeps us apart because we may not get it. We do not have residence permit nether the citizenship... plus.. we want our children to get it. We care for them the most, because of children.” Rayana

“We want it now, but we did not last time... because we live here, we see things, we speak Czech a bit.” Muhammed and Amira

“Yes, of course [...] Because I am building here, because my career, my people, my something, I am building. It’s hard for me to start again from zero. I am old. Not very old but I am old enough to continue to not to start from beginning. So that’s why I would like to have it. [...] I felt a period of time I would like to go to my family, but I told you I am building here so, I no, I would like to stay here.” Peace

“Yes, of course.” Alien 1

“I think we don’t plan for the nationality. But also for the future. We just want now the... permanent residence to manage our life and go out of the country. Without this harassment in the airport, because they don’t recognise these passports” Alien 2

“Yes, I would like it.” Rayana

5. CONSLUSION

The goal of the research was to find how Muslims with subsidiary protection perceive their own integration and their specific needs in integration in the Czech Republic. Semi-structured interviews were used for interviewing 8 self-declared Muslims with subsidiary protection. The main limitation of the research was heterogeneity of the sample which may influence this conclusion. Unfortunately, the access to the target group unable me to specify my sample more. On the other hand, topic of people with subsidiary protection is neglected and chosen methodology- semi-structured interviews- allowed me to research point of view of the target group.

People with subsidiary protection are immigrants, respective aliens, who have come involuntary and their stay is temporal (Bauböck, 1995). The status of is often mixed with the status of asylum, since both statuses have similar conditions of the stay except one- a need for prolonging the status after specific period of time (often between one year to three years). Lack of differentiation between those two statuses resolve in neglection of topic of subsidiary protection, even though number of every year accepted people with subsidiary protection usually is two times higher than number of the refugees. Neglection of this topic is evident in for ex. surveys in the general public which do not distinguish between a refugee and a person with subsidiary protection. However, one of the surveys shows that 58% of respondents are against accepting refugees (Červenka, 2018). In addition, target group's religion affiliation, Islam, has not better acceptance in the general public. Islam is perceived as ideology which is threatening the western values and thus is incompatible with the Czech Republic. The general public preferers only restricted time for the stay of the Muslims since they believe the solidarity of the receiving society should not resolve in security problems (Topinka, 2016). This rather negative attitudes have often become Islamophobia which in the case of the Czech Republic called 'Islamophobia without Muslims' (Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016) since the Muslim community has only ca 22 500 members (Topinka, 2016). Islamophobia is widespread among the general public but also the highest politicians, the president Miloš Zeman (Muhič Dizdarevič, 2016). General public preferred acculturation strategy is assimilation of newcomers (Hanzlová, 2019). The Czech Republic's approach has been influenced by the history, Czech identity (an endogenous ethnic nation which has rather negative attitude to newcomers since the lack of experience) (Barša & Baršová, 2005) and the way of implementing treaties promoting the rights for minorities which were

accepted in order to become a member of EU, without the general public agreement or even agreement of some politicians (Ram, 2003).

The negative attitudes towards refugees/people with subsidiary protection and Muslims have impact on the integration of this group. According to Berry (1997), integration (remaining own cultural identity alongside with desired contact with host society) is only possible in multiculturalism which has four conditions for the receiving society. Based on the respondents' answers and surveys presented in the theoretical part, analysis of the four conditions is presented:

- Multiculturalism is not positively accepted since 74% of the respondents prefer assimilation and the research found that the Muslims with subsidiary protection feel forced to assimilate (taking off hijab, avoiding mosques, feeling of unacceptance).
- Low level of prejudice is absent since, as stated by respondents, prejudice against Islam is widespread and especially women wearing hijab are targets of verbal attacks (often by an unknown person in a public space), are ignored in the social interactions or are perceived as something threatening (comes up while searching for an accommodation, a job and while having a field placements or celebrating Islam holidays).
- The Czech general public has rather negative attitudes to minorities (negative attitude to Muslims, assimilationist strategy)
- Mutual relationship between the receiving society and the target group is almost absent since majority of the respondents have just one or none Czech friend despite the respondents' desire to have one and to learn Czech. Attachment to the larger society is rather mixed- some of the respondents complained about a feeling a great unacceptance, some of the stated that they start to feel like home. Interestingly, some of the respondents stated that they had to hardly work on their acceptance in the society.

Berry's four condition to maintain integration are not fulfilled, thus the approach of the general public could be described as a *melting pot*, or rather *pressure cooker* since the respondents showed attitudes for *integration* (desire to wear a hijab, trying to celebrate Islam holidays) while the general public rather force them to assimilate.

The integration on itself is performed in different dimensions. *The structural dimension* includes the state's approach to international protection seekers which is

restrictive since the Czech Republic accepted only very low number of applicants. However, on one hand, people with subsidiary protection have same status as the Czech citizens (access to health care, social security, compulsory education as a legal right), on the other hand, according to MIPEX, have worse legal recognition by the laws covering direct/indirect discrimination, harassment, instruction as well as laws covering discrimination by association and on the basis of assumed characteristics. The citizenship is not granted, not even the residence permit, thus the respondents were often pointing out their status as uncertain. *The social-economic dimension* is mainly cover by SIP. The respondents were overall satisfied by the help with accommodation help. The language courses were in some cases accepted as satisfactory, however some of the respondents were complaining about low intensity of the courses, which is held only twice per week. The structure of language courses has an impact on their future job opportunities which is also accompanied by worse access to educational and vocational training and difficulties in recognising their professional skills and the especially youth and women economic integration is critical in the Czech Republic (Huddleston et al., 2015). *The social dimension* was described by the respondents as the least successful since only one respondent have a close Czech friend, however every respondent would like to have one. Especially respondents wearing hijab were targets of verbal attack from the general public, discrimination in finding an accommodation, a job and even rejected health care service. Some of them showed fear regarding to their religious affiliation. As stated above, *a pressure cooker* is used by the general public. The respondents stated the lack of contact with general public, some of them even feeling of unacceptance. The last dimension, *an identificational* one, showed that Muslims with subsidiary protection perceive their ‘integration’ as forced assimilation, even though they would prefer integration in Berry’s meaning.

According to the respondents, the SIP is a great tool for the integration, however is the real integration possible when their status is just temporal? The research found out several problematic spheres in SIP and CIF in the case of the integration of Muslims with subsidiary protection which raise the question of their specific needs:

Need for effective system in language courses. Language is the key for the integration of newcomers. Kymlicka’s theory shows how important the language integration is. However, respondents struggle in learning Czech language. There are several reasons- less intensity which may be followed with loss of motivation and in some cases bad continuing. However, the quality of the courses was stated as very high. Ineffective learning outcomes calls for better system of language courses. According to CIF, the requirement for residence

permit will be advanced from A1 to A2. It is questionable if the learners are able to improve their Czech language skill in such conditions and further development in this way may be considered as rather assimilationist.

Need for Czech friendships. The research found that only almost none of the respondents have close Czech friend. This is one of the reasons why the state should connect those people with general public and why the state should work more with general public in a case of refugees/people with subsidiary protection. The state should work on destigmatising those two groups and rationally explain the facts instead of misusing people's fear. This is also connected to learning the language which is not as efficient as it should be. Integration and learning the language would be way easier and more effective when having closer connection to the general public.

Need for wearing hijab and preventing exclusion based on wearing hijab. The research shows that hijab is the reason of exclusion from job searching, accommodation and more likely having close Czech non-Muslim friends. All of the respondents have some experience of verbal attacks because of wearing hijab. Among the respondents three approaches were developed- having hijab and facing possible aggression, taking off hijab because of existential reasons and finding another way how to wear hijab without showing it is a hijab. In general, this shows a great unacceptance of hijab in the Czech Republic. It should be mentioned that all of the respondents live in Prague which is probably the most open city since many tourists come there. Hijab in work is another issue which should be dealt with on national level. The research was not solely focused on the topic of hijab however this topic would be fruitful to work on since the hijab was the reason for discrimination. How does the pressure on wearing hijab influence women? How do they cope with taking off hijab even they would like to wear it? Six of the respondents have daughters- will they wear hijab when they grow up? And most importantly how would the transition look like? What would be role of school in it? The tendency of hiding hijab in some way was common in the research sample which shows forced assimilationist strategies among Muslims with subsidiary protection. Wearing hijab is a complex issue which should be dealt with. My research mainly showed discrimination against the ones who wears it, however hijab could be seen as a tool for suppression of women. That might be one of the reasons why the general public refuses it. Nevertheless, the women should be the ones who decide what they want to wear.

Need for a secure stay. Access to residence permit is not granted, thus some of the respondents are worried about their future or future of their kids (the others were convinced

their stay will be prolonged). The Czech Republic also tried to have more restricted access to the residence permit by advancing the language requirement from A1 to A2. Even though all respondents expressed their desire to settle down in the Czech Republic and apply for the residence permit as well as citizenship in the future which correspond with Kymlicka thesis that metics would like to gain permanent residence and access to citizenship (Kymlicka, 2001). Why should not the state support the ones who are actively making an effort to integrate?

Need for integration. In conclusion, acculturation strategies of the Muslims with subsidiary protection were mixed. Some of them showed rather assimilationist tendencies by hiding or taking off the hijab, by being suspicious when celebrating holidays, by believing that the connection to mosque could disadvantage her or discredit her in the society. However, assimilationist tendencies are rather forced by general public since widespread Islamophobia enhances unacceptance of Muslims and refugees/people with subsidiary protection. In addition, many of them were afraid of attacks, which may also enhance this group for assimilationist tendencies. All of them expressed their desire to be connected to Islam in some way (by wearing hijab or attending mosque on Fridays).

In summary, from its users' point of view the governmental system works well and respondents were thankful for all the help. Nevertheless, there are still many things to improve not only in support but also how the help is provided. Lots of services are held by non-governmental and non-profit organizations by projects which are provided locally and for a specific period. This system is more effective and cheaper for the state. However, the organizations and its clients may be in disadvantage since everything depends on governmental money which may not come next year. In my opinion, two main issues should be resolved- the language courses and the work with the general public. All of the respondents were motivated to stay despite the fact only two of them had the Czech Republic as a final destination⁸. For those who would like to stay should be granted effective and fast Czech language courses as well as citizenship, which is not granted nowadays, or at least access to permanent residence. The state should be working on lowering discrimination against women who wear hijab and ensure that discrimination based on belief will be prevented.

At the very end, I would like to make a claim for future steps in international protection policy. Firstly, the authorities should deal with the paradoxical state of subsidiary protection

⁸ In both cases, it was the husband who decided where to settle down

which may leave people in insecurity. They should live with the thought of being deported back if the status is not prolonged while integrating with the State Integration Programme. Despite the facts, the respondents want to stay in the Czech Republic. Secondly, why should people fleeing war (main origin of respondent was Middle-East – Yemen, Iraq, Syria) achieve subsidiary protection instead of asylum?

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Supplements

Semi-structured interviews

Introduction:

Do you have subsidiary protection? Do you consider yourself as a Muslim (specify)? How old are you? What's your gender? Where are you from? Did you choose the Czech Republic? Why did you choose it? How long have you been in the Czech Republic?

Czech language:

Have you been offered Czech language courses? What did you get out of it? Can you think of anything what would you change in the course?

Economic self-sufficiency and accommodation:

Could you choose where would you live? What are your experiences with finding an accommodation? Do you have a job? How did you find it? Does it correspondent with your education? Would you like different job? Are you satisfied with your job? (Being student/being mother)

For parents:

How did you find school for your kid? Have any obstacles appeared while finding the school?

Have you understood all information you got when you arrived in the Czech Republic? Are you informed about subsidiary protection? Do you know your rights and responsibilities? Have you attended adaptation-integration courses? If yes, was it understandable? Was it helpful for you?

Interaction between communities:

Are there any obstacles in professing your religion? Is there anything or anyone who would restrict you in your belief? Do you feel safe in Czechia? Do you feel safe with subsidiary protection?

Do you have any Czech friends? Are you interested in meeting Czech people? What are your experiences with Czechs? What is different between your home country and the Czech Republic? Do you think that for your community has its place in CZ?

Own community

Are you in contact with your community (in CZ and abroad)? How do you contact each other? How often do you contact them? Is it important for you to be in contact with them?

Citizenship:

Would you like to become a Czech citizen? Would Czech citizenship help you? If yes, in what ways? Do you feel any changes in considering the Czech citizenship?

Is there any topic you would like to add?